Egyptian Blackmail—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

August 4, 1951

Between Two Giants

When Japan Has a Treaty

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

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Principles or Politics?

Truman vs. Douglas

BY ELMER GERTZ

AUG 4 1951

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE NEWSPAPERS and radio, and for that matter high government officials, would quit making suspicious and gloomy predictions every time the Korean peace talks run into disagreement. The long argument over the Communist demand for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops as a condition for an armistice generated a flock of prophecies that the talks would collapse on that issue, but the three-day recess requested by the Communists brought instead a reasonable compromise proposal and the prompt adoption of an agenda. The question of troop withdrawal was omitted but the final item allows unspecified "recommendations to the governments concerned on both sides." As this week began another dispute had arisen, this time over the demarcation; the Communists were insisting that the cease-fire should be established along the 38th parallel—politically the only logical line—while the U. N. representatives argued for their own present battle line which is a considerably better defense position. Again the gloom-mongers were predicting failure and wondering audibly whether the Communists were acting in good faith or merely using the talks as a breathing space in which to rebuild their broken military forces. (But U. N. forces were being strengthened too and were pressing the fighting while the talks continued.) Obviously anything could happen, but a dispassionate observer would discount omens of disaster keeping firmly in mind the fact that the Communists, especially the Chinese and the Russians, quite evidently want an end to the war.

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A "CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER" HAD BEEN building up for months in the Missouri Valley but Washington failed to get excited about it or even notice it. Brigadier General D. G. Shingler, reporting on the causes and extent of the recent flood, pointed out that "this flood—like all great floods on our major rivers—was the culmination of a long buildup. The stage setting started early in May." The storms that precipitated the flood were not in themselves "spectacular." The Kansas and Missouri rivers were so swollen with the water collected upstream that only a minor downpour was needed to touch off floods that resulted in the death of twenty-seven people, the loss of a billion dollars in property, the inundation of more than two million acres of farm land, the destruction of 16,000 head of livestock, and the displacement of thousands of home-dwellers. The Senate and House promptly voted $25,000,000 for relief but not without the usual political sniping. "If we can build power plants in Italy and steel plants in Colombia," said Senator Malone, "and can't take care of our own welfare, Congress should reexamine the whole matter of foreign expenditures." But Congress might more profitably examine the necessity for an integrated development plan for the valley. "Whatever the ideological faults of a TVA plan may be," one Missouri newspaper confessed, "it has one great virtue. It works."

✳

OUR NEW ALLY, DICTATOR FRANCO, HAS installed his new "democratic" Cabinet, the main purpose of which is to quiet the conscience of those Americans who still hold that principle should rule our decisions. The New York *Herald Tribune,* which, surprisingly, has embraced Franco's cause, and various other papers predicted the speedy restoration of the monarchy, but that story lasted exactly five days. In a blast directed at both Franco and his American supporters Gil Robles, the former Minister of War and Catholic leader who is the Pretender's leading political adviser in Lisbon, denounced Franco's "democratization" of his regime as a complete fraud. This view was even more vehemently expressed by an official spokesman of Don Juan. "The reorganization of the Cabinet undertaken by General Franco," he said in an exclusive interview published by the Agence France-Presse, "is an act of defiance to Spanish public opinion and to world opinion, since Franco has never presided over a more totalitarian government." The Monarchist spokesman indignantly rejected the suggestion that the change was carried through with the approval of the Pretender. "Those self-styled Monarchists who consented to serve in the new Cabinet may represent themselves but certainly they do not represent us." The perpetration of this fraud, he declared, was sufficient reason for the United States to call off negotiations with the Spanish dictator, whose new government contains six members "representing the most ferocious tendencies of the Falange."

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THE KU KLUX KLAN, HANDICAPPED BY THE "anti-mask" statutes that were recently enacted in a number of Southern states and communities, has evidently decided to mask its bigotry in the guise of politics. On July 21 the Grand Dragon of the Florida Klan, one Bill Hendrix, spoke in Jacksonville's Hemming Park not as Dragon but as a candidate for governor. The fact that Hendrix had not qualified as a candidate—the filing date is far in the future—did not deter Mayor Haydon Burns from roping off the park and nearby streets for the meeting. Significantly, the request for authorization to hold the meeting was made through a local attorney who is chairman of the Democratic Party for Duval County. A "fiery summons" sent to neighboring "klaverns" resulted in an impressive "klavalklade." Robed but unmasked Klansmen paraded through the streets protected by a permit from the mayor and a police escort. Public attention was successfully focused on the meeting by a flurry of "fiery K's" touched off a week earlier in Jacksonville, Miami, and other cities. In Miami cards used to advertise the meeting carried the familiar Hitlerian thesis: "Behind every Communist is a Kike Jew." Copies of *Common Sense*, a virulently anti-Semitic sheet published in New Jersey, were also distributed. While the Klan has frequently participated in politics, this is the first time in recent years that an admitted Klan Dragon has campaigned for the governorship of a Southern state. The Klan may have been unmasked, but its post-war growth has been continuous if not spectacular; scarcely a week goes by without some Klan "bombing" or other outrage being reported in the Negro press.

The Japanese Treaty: Will It Stick?

THE Japanese peace treaty, patiently worked out by John Foster Dulles through bilateral negotiations with several of the nations concerned, has been justifiably hailed as a model of conciliation, an example of how a generous victor can treat a defeated enemy. The document which is to be signed on September 4 in San Francisco bears no traces of vindictiveness. No limitations are placed on Japan's political sovereignty or economic revival. No reparations—except the free manufacture by the Japanese of raw materials from the Philippines—are to be charged. The recent past, when Americans were told that the Japanese were bestial people, is mercifully wiped out, and Japan is bidden to join the United Nations. The Germans, and even more the Italians, might well feel that the Japanese, who unlike the Axis powers of Europe actually attacked territory under United States control, have received the best deal of all the enemy states. And some of our Filipino friends dourly point out that it is more profitable to be a war-

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time enemy of the United States than a war-time friend.

How explain this preferential treatment of a nation which ten years ago seemed bent on our destruction? In part American leniency is due to the widespread belief that half a decade of General MacArthur's rule has fundamentally altered the Japanese people—that we have democratized them and thereby shorn them of any propensity to conquest. It is conceivable that the Japanese may in the future view military expansion without enthusiasm. But if they do, it will be less because they have become good democrats on the American pattern than because they have a great gift for realism. Having learned from experience that war does not pay, they may now make as drastic a change in their external policy as they did in their internal affairs in the 1860's, when they decided to discard feudalism and become a modern industrial nation.

The most decisive reason for our attitude of reconciliation toward Japan, however, is that we need our recent enemy as an ally in Asia and a bulwark against Russia. No other Asian nation fulfils this purpose so effectively. Japan alone has a modern economy and does not need to be rebuilt by us from the ground up. Because of the remarkable discipline of its people it is least vulnerable to the strains and stresses of Asia's revolutionary ferment. Having achieved national independence long ago and preserved it through the period of colonialism, it need not go through the birth-pangs of nationhood. Nor is our preference for Japan a new phenomenon inspired by fear of communism. One need only recall the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, when Theodore Roosevelt welcomed Japan's victories over czarist Russia, which had been infiltrating into Manchuria at the turn of the century, and intervened only when it began to look as if these victories would prove so easy as to strengthen Japan in a way disturbing to the United States.

Granted that we have solid reasons to establish close ties with Japan, will the peace treaty stick? There are at least three aspects of the treaty which raise doubts about its durability. First, because of Washington's understandable determination to avoid wrangling with Russia and Communist China, the treaty does not reflect the existing power situation in Asia but only the power situation of the Western nations and the two Pacific dominions, Australia and New Zealand. This gives it an air of unreality—the air of a plant carefully nurtured in the antiseptic and orderly atmosphere of a laboratory which may find it hard to survive when exposed to the turbulent microbe-laden air of actual world affairs. How long will it prove possible to keep up the pretense that Russia and Communist China have no direct interest in the future of Japan? How long can we keep Japan isolated from mainland Asia, under the glass bell of American military protection?

Second, the treaty, for the moment at least, is a white man's treaty with an Asian nation. The Filipinos, to put it mildly, are not enthusiastic about it. India has raised the question of Formosa and other issues. The nations of the Asian mainland that were overrun and devastated by the Japanese have not been heard from. The French, sensing this omission, have suggested for reasons of their own that Indo-China should be brought in as a signatory; but the situation in that guerrilla-torn colony is so complex as to raise doubts about the effectiveness with which it could represent Asia. Communist propaganda is already playing on the theme of Southeast Asian opposition to the Japanese peace treaty. And how will Australia, dedicated to a policy of white immigration, fit into a partnership with Japan?

Third, and perhaps most important of all from our point of view, what will political and economic sovereignty on paper avail Japan unless its eighty-million industrious people can find raw materials for their factories and markets for their products? Are we planning to integrate Japan into our economy? If not, how do we hope to keep it for any length of time from trading with Communist China and recognizing Peking? Or do we plan, as has been suggested by Charles E. Wilson, to develop Japan into a workshop of manufactures—perhaps of armaments—for ourselves and our allies? If we do, will not this make Japan a target for attack by Russia and Communist China? And would not the resulting insecurity jeopardize the economic recovery on which we are counting to stabilize the Japanese economy and thus reduce Japan's urge for militant expansion?

It is certainly a noble dream to hope that Japan may become an oasis of peace and prosperity in Asia. But the present treaty may merely prove this dream to be a mirage.

Egyptian Blackmail

THE Security Council of the United Nations should issue an unequivocal directive to the Egyptian government to end its blockade against Israel. Only in its immediate sense is the issue limited to Israel. What is ultimately involved is the supremacy of international law over the rule of anarchy; more specifically, whether the purposes and provisions of the armistice agreements are to prevail in the Middle East or war is to be resumed.

The issues were sharply drawn by the Egyptian delegate, Fawzi Bey, in his initial appearance before the Security Council. First he denounced the Constantinople Convention of 1888, which provides that "the Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce

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or of war without distinction of flag," and further provides that "the canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right to blockade"; and then he proceeded to repudiate the concept of the armistice agreements which Dr. Ralph Bunche, the U. N. mediator who negotiated the armistice, and General Riley, chief U. N. supervisor of the armistice arrangements, have consistently affirmed. Under the armistice, according to both officials, the state of war between the Arab states and Israel was ended; and "the entire heritage of restrictions" which had developed out of the undeclared war was done away with. Dr. Bunche declared in 1949 "that there should be free movement for legitimate shipping, and no vestiges of the war-time blockade should be allowed to remain, as they are inconsistent with both the letter and the spirit of the armistice agreements." In June, 1951, General Riley stated: "It is quite clear to me that the action taken by the Egyptian authorities in interfering with the passage of goods destined for Israel through the Suez Canal must be considered an aggressive action . . . and a hostile act."

Repudiating these interpretations, Fawzi Bey insists that a state of war still exists between Egypt and Israel; that an armistice, though it ends hostilities, is not even a temporary truce; and that the condition of war remains between the belligerents themselves and between belligerents and neutrals on all points beyond the mere cessation of hostilities. On these assumptions he argues that Egypt has the right to visit and search neutral merchantmen and that it could if it chose blockade and capture neutral vessels on the high seas which were attempting to break the blockade and could also seize contraband of war. He contends that the Egyptian Royal Decree of April 3, 1950, under which the Egyptians authorized open fire on any ship endeavoring to avoid the procedures of search, is not a violation of the armistice agreements. Conveniently overlooked, for the purposes of this argument, is the fact that Egypt never declared formal war against Israel.

The Security Council cannot have it two ways. It cannot have peace in the Middle East and also blockade. Failure to issue a clear-cut directive to Egypt to end the blockade will undermine the armistice arrangements. And it would be naive indeed to believe that the Arabs would not take advantage of the failure of the Security Council to hold them to the Bunche-Riley interpretation of the armistice; or that the Israelis would fail in self-defense to retaliate. New unrest if not outright hostilities would become inevitable in the Middle East. Moreover, should the Security Council fail to uphold the principle of the freedom of the Canal Zone, it would establish a most important precedent, giving Egypt at its whim the right to stop and search vessels of any government against which it had a real or fancied grievance.

The outcome of the U. N. discussions will depend largely on the willingness of the United States to come to grips with the problem. Until now the United States has delayed discussion in the Security Council in the forlorn hope of a settlement without the necessity of a decision by the Council.

If the Security Council adopts a resolution directing the end of the blockade, it will achieve a threefold purpose. It will strengthen the rule of international law; it will strengthen the armistice agreements and help protect the area against encroachments on its peace; and it will open the door to negotiations between Egypt and Israel. It might be pointed out, too, that once the freedom of the Suez Canal is upheld, oil tankers could proceed to the Haifa oil refinery in Israel, the second largest in the Middle East, thereby serving the interests of Europe and the United States. Without such a resolution none of these ends can be realized.

In the past the Arabs, when they have had no case, have shown themselves masters of the art of throwing everything into the hopper as a kind of "legitimate" blackmail. Fawzi Bey indicated that this was to be his course as well. The Arab refugee question and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty may be legitimate problems, but they have no relevance to the Suez Canal case. In the past the State Department has displayed a curious responsiveness to such tactics. It is to be hoped that this time self-interest will put an end to equivocation. Strong American support of a resolution calling for an end to the blockade will insure its passage. The Egyptians have no case; the Israelis have an impeccable case. The U. N. has a clear duty.

Franco and the Bevan Thesis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, July 26 (by cable)

TEN days ago the Tories caught the government off-guard and had a chance to win a vote in the Commons which might have forced Prime Minister Attlee's resignation. The failure to seize this opportunity suggests that many Tories are hesitant about precipitating an election. And well they may be, for the indications are that an election now would not substantially change the relative position of the parties; if the Tories won at all, it would be with the same kind of inadequate majority as Labor obtained in February, 1950.

What the Tories are hopefully awaiting is a split in Labor's ranks; this explains why any sign of dissension among the government's supporters is disproportionately blown up by the opposition. The Bevan pamphlet, "One Way Only," which appeared a few weeks ago, received large headlines and inspired innumerable highly critical editorials. The preliminary agenda for the annual Labor

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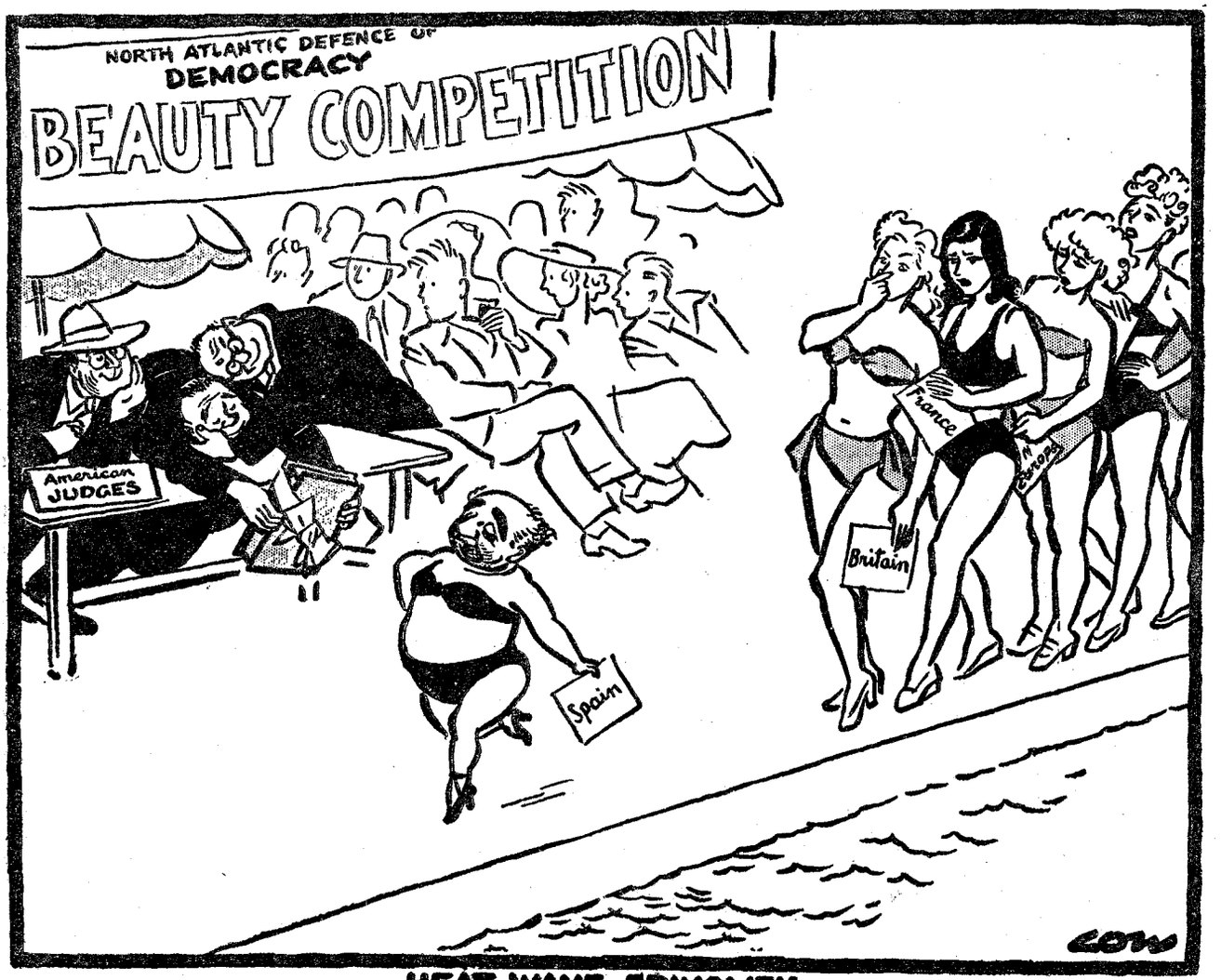
Party conference, to be held at the beginning of October, includes a large number of resolutions asking for drastic changes in government policy and has caused a new outburst of wishful thinking. Thus today's *Daily Mail* sees a "fundamental cleavage in Socialist ranks" and comments, "That's the trouble with all so-called progressive parties. Just as revolutions consume their first-born, so do such parties invariably split and splinter."

Experienced political observers take such predictions with a large pinch of salt, remembering that they appear every year prior to the Labor Party conference. There are always many resolutions on the agenda critical of official policy, mostly emanating from constituency Labor parties run by members who tend to be left of the executive. However, the bulk of voting power at the conference is in the hands of the trade unions, which, generally speaking, are far more conservative, and any revolts against the platform must attract important trade-union support to be successful.

It is true that this year the left opposition at the conference promises to be stronger than usual, for the Bevan thesis that the magnitude of Britain's rearmament program is endangering the social and economic gains of the past six years expresses widespread fears. Thus all the thirty-seven resolutions touching on rearmament which have been sent in are in a critical vein, and so are most of the much greater number which deal with wages, profits, and prices as affected by rearmament. A real division exists between the government, which stresses the risks of unpreparedness, and those who think there is a greater risk in diverting so large a proportion of the national resources to arms production.

As a result Aneurin Bevan has a potentially large following. His problem is to rally it in such strength as to influence government policy and reinforce his claims to leadership without provoking open schism. At the moment he is walking warily. Today the National Executive of the party adopted a policy statement which is not yet published but is understood to give full support to the government on rearmament while putting forward drastic new fiscal proposals. It was passed against strong protest by Bevan and three of his colleagues on the executive—Tom Driberg, Ian Mikardo, and Barbara Castle—but under the principle of collective responsibility which rules executive procedure they cannot openly attack a policy statement. There has been a good deal of speculation that these four might resign from the executive in order to free their hands, but for the



HEAT-WAVE FRIVOLITY

London *Daily Herald*

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time being they appear to have decided to remain and exert what pressure they can from the inside. It would not be surprising, however, if they stepped down just before the conference so that they could defend their own policies and attack the official position from the floor before standing for reelection. Their decision may well depend on whether the government agrees to new and stringent economic measures to cope with the present strong inflationary trend, which is disturbing trade unions no less than left-wingers.

The American approach to Madrid comes at a particularly embarrassing moment for the government, which has staked much on maintenance of full partnership with the United States. The Bevan pamphlet called attention specifically to the danger of American demands to bring Spain into the orbit of the North Atlantic alliance. "It would not be the first occasion," the pamphlet declared, "on which the exigencies of American domestic politics have weighed more heavily in the balance than the realities of the democratic stand against communism in Europe. Thus would the Kremlin be presented with another victory. And why not? If Stalin is offering Chiang as his best ally in Asia, why should he not be given Franco in Europe?" If this forecast should prove correct, the Bevanite influence in the Labor Party will be strengthened. Among British workers memories of the Spanish civil war remain fresh; and the aid and comfort given by Franco to Hitler when Britain had its back to the wall has not been forgotten. Any attempt to bolster the Spanish dictator will be bitterly resented by the party's rank and file and will add to the government's difficulty in obtaining support for its rearmament policies. On grounds both of principle and expediency, therefore, the Labor government must stand firmly opposed to the kind of deal with Franco which Washington seems to have prepared.

Truman vs. Douglas

BY ELMER GERTZ

Chicago, July 27

MORE than a year ago the Chicago area (Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division) became entitled to three additional United States District Court judges. Thereupon Senator Paul H. Douglas, the senior Senator, began to sift "available" candidates, with the help of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, National Committeeman Jacob M. Arvey, and former Senator Scott Lucas. Douglas is more impatient of organizational methods and tests than most men in office, but he has a high regard for Arvey, with whom he served in the Chicago City Council. Contrary to the prevailing impression, Douglas was not trying to find the very best men available, for it might easily have turned out that the best men were Republicans. What he actually sought was the best men as measured by the ordinary rules of politics determining "availability."

In Chicago this meant that one of the appointments had to go to a Protestant—because there is only one Protestant on the federal bench in this division; one to a Jew—because no Jew has been appointed since the distant days of Judge Alschuler; and the other place to a Catholic—despite the fact that the Catholics, politically dominant in Chicago today, are already heavily represented. Taking more time than is usual, Douglas submitted his choices to the Attorney General on January 26, and the Department of Justice approved the names he submitted. Despite protests from all the sitting judges about the accumulation of work, Mr. Truman let the recommendations lie on his desk and failed to consult Senator Douglas about them. Finally, on July 13, the President forwarded his nominations to the Senate.

On only one choice were the President and Senator Douglas in agreement, on Joseph Sam Perry—which was really more of a tribute to Scott Lucas than to Douglas. For Judge Benjamin P. Epstein, veteran of eighteen years' service on the Circuit Court of Cook County, Mr. Truman substituted Joseph J. Drucker, Municipal Court judge and nephew of Representative Adolph J. Sabath, chairman of the Rules Committee. For William H. King, Jr., former president of the Chicago Bar Association, Truman substituted Judge Cornelius J. Harrington, a pal of one of his cronies. The appointments were, of course, "personally obnoxious" to Senator Douglas, who announced that he would ask the Chicago Bar Association and the Cook County Bar Association (made up of Negro lawyers) to conduct polls on the preferences of members.

Cook County has a crazy-quilt pattern of nationalistic, racial, and religious bar associations—Jewish, Lutheran, Catholic, Negro, Nordic, Polish, Lithuanian, and Italian. Indeed, it is doubtful that any city in the world has a greater variety of professional groups. Not long ago Negroes were not admitted to membership in the Chicago Bar Association. Frank McCulloch, Senator

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Douglas's administrative assistant, was one of the handful of white lawyers who led the successful fight to make it possible for Negroes to join the Chicago Bar Association. Most Negro lawyers, however, belong to their own association. This may account for the fact that the Negro association was asked to poll its members but that the nationalistic groups were ignored. At the same time Senator McCarran asked the Illinois State Bar Association to conduct a poll of its members, and finally the Chicago *Sun-Times* stepped into the fray and sent ballots to the entire bar of the area.

The membership of the Chicago Bar Association, even more than the legal profession as a whole, is conservative by inclination and Republican by affiliation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the brochure which went to members with their ballots contained a statement by the president of the association welcoming this chance to ballot on preferences for judicial appointments and a statement by Senator Douglas which amounted to an argument for his appointments.

THE principle of "senatorial courtesy" in the selection of federal judges, which is the issue between President Truman and Senator Douglas, was involved in a historic controversy between President Roosevelt and Senator Carter Glass. In March, 1938, newspapers carried the story that federal judicial appointments in Virginia would have to be "cleared" by the Governor. Carter Glass, then senior Senator from Virginia, immediately wrote to Roosevelt to learn whether the stories were true. President Roosevelt told Glass to submit recommendations but added that he would reserve the right to consult with other persons, including "Nancy Astor, the Duchess of Windsor, the W. P. A., a Virginia moonshiner, Governor Price, or Charlie McCarthy." Senators Glass and Byrd then submitted two names for an existing vacancy, one man being recommended by every bar association in the area, and asked the President to take his choice. But Roosevelt sent to the Senate the name of a third man, Floyd H. Roberts. Neither Glass nor Byrd objected to Roberts on the score of integrity or competence, but both declared him to be "personally obnoxious." According to Roosevelt, this was the first time such an objection had been raised since 1913. The Senate, as might have been expected, rejected the Presidential nominee by the overwhelming vote of seventy-two to nine, Senator Truman supporting Senator Glass in this important test.

Just why, then, has President Truman ignored the principle of "senatorial courtesy" in this instance? It seems that President Roosevelt had promised Representative Sabath to appoint Drucker to the federal bench "the next time," saying that Drucker was then "too young." But having said this to Sabath, F. D. R. turned around, at the behest of Bishop Sheil, and appointed William J. Campbell, who was even younger than Drucker! Sabath bided his time and later got Truman to promise the next appointment to Drucker; this promise is now being kept.

The arithmetic of the situation is simple. The President cannot prevail if the Senate upholds "senatorial courtesy," but he may feel that the maverick Douglas will not receive the same support that Senator Glass received. On the other hand, Douglas cannot force the President to accept his nominees. This means that either the President or the Senator must yield, or compromise, and in the meantime Chicago will be without much-needed judges. There is talk now of a deal whereby Judge Harrington, who is close to an important element in the Democratic Party and the chancery office, may be confirmed with Mr. King, leaving the Jewish minority without representation on the federal bench. At the risk of giving offense, it may be said that the Republican Party in Cook County is largely the vehicle of the Protestants, while the Democratic Party is the voice of Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. Although Douglas is a Protestant, he is sensitive to the nuances of the situation. His first public address in Chicago after returning from military service was under the auspices of the Catholic Labor Alliance.

Douglas professes to have no Presidential ambitions, but he has conducted himself in the present situation with the caution, cunning, and resourcefulness of a man who is playing for high stakes. A fight on the appointments will dramatize the fact that Douglas is not a party "hack," that he has important differences with Mr. Truman, and that he favors appointments based on "merit" rather than on political or personal pull. But the issue is really political, a test of power rather than of principle. Mr. Truman is well aware that Douglas has been widely mentioned for the Presidency, and this feeling, more than any concern about his prerogatives, probably accounts for his position.

The contest between Truman and Douglas, however, does conceal a basic issue—namely, partisanship in the selection of judges. At the end of the Wilson Administration federal judgeships were almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans, but twelve years of Republican rule created an imbalance of 172 Republican to 57 Democratic judges. Since 1933 the situation has been reversed: the federal courts now have 59 Republican and 240 Democratic judges. It is no answer to the problem of judicial selection to ask conservative, and largely Republican, bar associations to poll their members. A better expedient would be to create some means by which a panel of lawyers, representative of various points of view and familiar with the competence and integrity of candidates, might make recommendations. The Northern Illinois lawyers recently voted that all the candidates were qualified except Drucker (the

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vote on him was 594 "yes," 1,948 "no"), and the Chicago Bar Association has given overwhelming support to Senator Douglas's nominees. To get a clear-cut decision, the rival choices were directly pitted against each other, with these results: Epstein (Douglas nominee) 3,656, Drucker (Truman nominee) 553, King (Douglas nominee) 3,003, Harrington (Truman nominee) 1,310. But the polls will not settle the issue between the President and Senator Douglas. The vote on this issue will not be taken until 1952.

When Japan Has a Treaty

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

WHEN Japan has a treaty and has recovered full responsibility in domestic politics and full freedom of action in foreign policy, what kind of politics can we expect in Japan, and what kind of behavior in Japan's relations with other countries? The Dulles-drafted treaty is, in its main outlines, one of the most statesmanlike treaties ever offered to a recently powerful but overwhelmingly defeated country. No annexations, beyond what Japan has already lost; no drain of reparations extending into a dreary and uncertain future. The assumption is that bygones are to be bygones and that Japan has become the kind of country with which America can have mutually profitable relations—a country that America need no longer fear and that might become a valuable and trustworthy ally.

Within limits, the assumption is valid. There are some liberals who are afraid, perhaps because the proposed treaty has been associated with the name of a Wall Street lawyer, that one of its principal results will be a dangerous rehabilitation of the strength of the Zaibatsu, the great business combines of Japan whose directing magnates profited so handsomely by their association with the militarists in the days of Japan's imperialist expansion. There is a fear that MacArthur's administration was "soft" with these merchants of death, and that as soon as the last nominal American controls are withdrawn, they will be able to impose on Japan once more a dangerously reactionary government.

I doubt it. These men were at their most dangerous when Japan ruled Korea and Formosa and when, in spite of the effort made by the United States while Hoover was President and Stimson Secretary of State, it proved impossible to rally an international coalition that would prevent Japan from taking over the Manchurian provinces of China. They were dangerous then because their relationship with Japan's militarists was symbiotic. In spite of all that has happened, the nature of this symbiosis is rarely stated as simply and clearly as it should be. Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria together gave Japan an extraordinarily complete range of raw materials for war industry, except for oil; and oil could always be got, in those days, by hinting that Japan's real purpose was to get ready to fight Russia. Making use of these raw materials the Zaibatsu equipped Japan's militarists. The militarists produced war scares. The war scares produced larger contracts for the Zaibatsu. The Zaibatsu therefore played ball with the militarists in Japan's home politics. The Zaibatsu were anti-militarist in only one restricted sense: they hoped that the spiral of war scares and armament contracts would ascend forever without collapsing in the outbreak of a "real"—or as we would now say, "total"—war.

The danger of a Japan set free by treaty to resume the planning and execution of its own policies does not lie in this direction. The business men of Japan represent private capital and are hostile to communism, but they cannot act as if they still controlled Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria when in fact they no longer control any one of those territories. They are afraid of the close neighborhood of an increasingly powerful Russia, but they will plan and act as "have-not" business men and not as "have" business men; and that, as we shall find if we look up the Kipling section in the thesaurus of the imperial age in Asia, is a different story.

The danger in the post-Japanese-treaty situation in Asia lies in a quite different direction. It lies principally in the fact that American public opinion has been inadequately prepared to understand just what can and cannot be done by a treaty with Japan. The expectation has been aroused that the treaty will prove to be a great triumph of American diplomacy, that it will perhaps decisively alter the balance between the United States and Russia in eastern Asia and the western Pacific in favor of the United States.

Except for a very few on the extreme right and a very few on the extreme left, it can already be confidently forecast that no Japanese are going to act on such an assumption. Let us try not to consider theories about Japan. Let us try to see through the eyes of Japanese of most conditions of life and most shades of political opinion. To these Japanese, the overwhelming majority,

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the draft treaty is extremely welcome. But the deadlocked, implacable hostility between the United States and Russia is a permanent condition which they will have to face when, as free agents, they take over the handling of their own international relations. Japan is already in the squeeze between these two giants. Most Japanese cannot see how any treaty, no matter how cleverly worded, can change the balance so decisively that the squeeze is removed. And unless the squeeze is removed, the change is not, for the Japanese, decisive.

WHEN Japan has a treaty, therefore, the men who handle Japanese policy will feel they are moving in a situation in which there are two constants, the United States and Russia. They will feel that it is not within the power of Japan to bring about any important change in either of these two constants within any foreseeable time. To the extent that this is true, the only kind of policy Japan can pursue with any prospect whatever of modifying the situation is a policy that more or less takes the constants for granted and concentrates on the variables.

These variables are, for Japan, the Asian countries all the way from China to the Arab Near East; Britain, France, and Holland; and among countries that are not in Asia but hold a position in the Pacific, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The interests of these countries are not identical, and because they are not identical they offer Japan the only field of maneuver in which, by many alternative combinations, Japanese policy may be able to improve opportunities, take initiatives, and strengthen the position of Japan.

We must certainly count on a Japanese policy that will try to deal with China not as a constant, like Russia, but as a variable. From the point of view of Japanese policy-makers, China, even under a strong Communist government that continues to be a close ally of Russia, is not identical with Russia. China and Japan have more to offer each other than can be offered between Japan and Russia. The industries of Japan were largely designed to consume the raw materials of China, especially Manchuria and North China but also the Yangtze valley, South China, and the iron of Hainan island. Machinery made in Japan from Chinese raw materials offers the cheapest kind of capital goods that China can obtain from any source; and Japan can deliver goods to China at all the seaports instead of over the one railway line that enters China from Siberia.

This potential relationship will exercise a steady pressure on the policy-planning and policy-thinking of the Chinese, even if they are Communists, and of the Japanese, even if they are old Zaibatsu executives. It is reported that the wording of the proposed treaty with Japan is aimed at making it difficult for Japan to sign a treaty with the Communist government of China; but it is difficult to see how a lawyer's wording that might be quite good enough to keep two cartels from merging can permanently override the pressure, inherent in the situation, making for "deals" between Japan and China. It should not be forgotten that it was a "powerless" Germany, after the First World War, that was the first country to deal on a large scale with Soviet Russia.

In the rest of Asia, Japan made friends during the war, as well as enemies. Japanese troops behaved brutally, and Japanese carpetbaggers got away with quick fortunes; but from Indo-China to Pakistan it is not forgotten that it was also the victories of Japan over the European empires that opened the way, after the defeat of Japan itself, to nationalism and independence.

Nor are the doors of diplomacy barred to Japan in dealing with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France, or Holland. Japan was defeated and these countries were victors; but Britain, France, and Holland suffered losses as crippling as those of Japan, and Japan since the war has been supported as generously by the United States as have our war-time allies. None of these countries can be expected to look on, without twinges of jealousy, at an American policy that seems to be doing as much or more to restore the power of Japan as to restore their own power; and to the extent that this jealousy is not assuaged by American policy, it can be exploited by Japan.

The advance publicity on which the treaty with Japan is to be floated emphasizes the prospect of a close Japanese-American association. The situation in which Japan is placed foretells, rather, an effort on the part of Japan, cautious perhaps at first, but persistently sustained, to create an independent policy something like India's but—because of Japan's high level of industrialization—resembling in some ways that of Britain.

The tendency toward an independent policy is likely, in turn, to foster a trend in Japanese politics at home that has not even been hinted at in the advance publicity. A few conservatives will advocate complete subordination to American policy. The Communist left will stridently demand reconciliation with Russia and hostility to the United States. Given conditions within Japan and the possibilities of a Japanese foreign policy that emphasizes the "variable" countries rather than the two "constants," Russia and the United States, it is not likely that either extreme pro-Americanism or extreme pro-Russianism will roll up the biggest vote in Japan. It is more likely that we shall see both a considerable growth of the Socialist vote—though not, in the near future, on a scale to make a Socialist government possible—and the emergence, perhaps, of one or more parties representing the kind of capitalist private enterprise that is willing to accept a large measure of nationalization and government control in the planning of domestic production and the allocation of foreign trade.

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Colorado's Main Street Educator

BY ROBERT L. PERKIN

Denver

ABOUT five years ago the editor of the *Independent* in semi-suburban Littleton, a dozen miles south of Denver, wanted to establish a well-baby clinic for the community. So he induced one of Denver's leading pediatricians to agree to drive out to Littleton on a regular schedule several times a month and give the town's small fry a once-over—free. The big-city baby specialist made one trip: Littleton's leading physician froze him out. Littleton's babies are quite well and happy in the care of our own doctors, he was told; there is no need for a well-baby clinic, but thank you for your trouble.

Selfgson

Houstoun Waring

A few months ago a permanent well-baby clinic with a whole staff of doctors and nurses opened its doors in Littleton. Greeting the well-wishers and accepting their congratulations was the same doctor who had thrown cold water on the project earlier. But now things were different; he had been permitted, even encouraged, to believe that he had invented the idea.

The encouragement had been supplied by the editor of the *Independent,* Houstoun Waring, who is not only that *rara avis* a liberal in a small town but a man with an extremely active and able mind. Houstoun Waring publishes one of the most respected weeklies in Colorado. During his twenty-five years on Main Street there have been eight brief attempts to take his measure. The *Independent* remains Littleton's only newspaper. And it is a money-making little paper, well buttressed by advertising and dealt out each Friday to 2,700 of the 3,300 men, women, and children in the community. The circulation manager of the New York *Daily News* could learn things about saturation from the *Independent.*

Waring was Nieman Fellow at Harvard in 1944-45. He has received many awards for editorial writing and community service. He founded the school of journalism at the University of Denver. He contributes to the New York *Times.* When he wants to "magnify our voice" he sends clippings of his editorials to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or the *Christian Science Monitor,* and they are usually republished.

A short time ago Waring was deep in a new enterprise—making a film to use as propaganda in foreign countries. One of his contributions to the *Times* had caught the eye of a documentary film producer in New York. The State Department was consulted. A few months later a troupe of writers, directors, and camera men descended on Littleton. The story of Waring and his *Independent* has been filmed to tell the world—in twenty languages—about democracy in operation on Main Street, U. S. A. The film is to be released in this country later this summer.

Waring chuckles about the film. "Just when you get them thinking you're a Communist for sure, then something like this movie happens, or we pull down some new award. It confuses the opposition no end."

The movie-making and the story of the well-baby clinic would be misunderstood if they were taken to mean that Waring is a slick operator. Guile is not his forte. Take the clinic, for instance. The tactic of letting the opposition steal your idea and develop it as theirs is not new, but because pride must be sacrificed, it is seldom used. Waring happens to be one of those uncommon individuals who bear out the observation that there is no limit to the good a man can do if he doesn't care who gets the credit.

"I've never catalogued myself as a liberal," Waring says. "But I expect I take a 'liberal' position 98 per cent of the time. Most people here in Littleton, and I suspect elsewhere as well, don't have ideologies. They raise a family and try to keep the roof from leaking. The *Independent* is edited for them. If I have such a thing as a philosophy, it starts with the basic welfare of man in general rather than with Americanism, Protestantism, or any other ism."

Waring may not call himself a liberal, but he is a better one than many and more effective than most. And he is a practicing liberal, not simply a liberal on the theoretical plane, where "the people" are reverenced in the abstract and disdained in the sweaty flesh. But he is not a firebrand. He is just the alert, intelligent, responsible, and independent citizen we all are supposed to be in the folklore of liberalism.

The *Independent,* he will tell you, has no formula. "We push 'em as hard as we can short of rebellion. That

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involves knowing your community, and I certainly don't want to give the idea we're fearless." Waring is willing to make haste slowly. He takes a long view of his little town, and what he sees counsels him against screaming urgency, the often self-defeating occupational ailment of progressives. He believes, as Borah did, that controversies yield more clarification when they are conducted around principles, not personalities. He reads a lot and tries to maintain an open mind. "Pet beliefs handicap you."

During the winter months Waring conducts "fireside forums" for his town in his home, bringing in some distinguished university professor and picking out a live topic for discussion. The forums have been attended by as many as sixty-five persons—butcher, baker, retired rancher, C. I. O. shop steward, Episcopal rector, banker, madam chairman of the Parent-Teachers' Association. "It helps everyone," he feels, "to let people see how you reason. Finally it begins to dawn on them that you actually are trying to reason about things and not acting on instructions from Moscow."

SOME of Waring's observations on the practical problems of journalism are pertinent everywhere. He advises country editors to be less apprehensive about advertiser pressure. In twenty-five years, he says, only one advertiser has pulled out of the *Independent*, "and we've made our share of them mad." Even the one who pulled out came back. Public officials, the county commissioners and such, are more important. They decide who shall publish the legal notices, tax lists, and official proceedings which many small papers need to survive. And they are not above putting on the heat. Waring has a healthy regard for their economic power but is not awed. He defines the two purposes of the *Independent* as the solution of social problems and keeping public officials honest. "We had two or three crooked men in office at first —but none lately."

Like most country editors, Waring concentrates on local news and discusses state, national, and international news from the local angle. The *Independent* has no rules about news coverage: "we just try to cover the things other papers don't." For example, he thought the big papers were afraid to present the Arab side in Palestine, and so he presented it. Many papers never print constructive labor news, but he does. He is a believer in schools of journalism, "especially as critics of the press." The trouble with most weekly editors, he says, is that they are "printers and business men, more concerned with the back shop than with editorial policy. They need some training in journalism and the social sciences."

The *Independent* publishes Lippmann instead of Pegler, reviews books as well as crop conditions, and goes out of its way to get the opposition to speak up. Waring feels a sober concern over the common man's inarticulateness. "I don't like it when they won't talk back to me," he says. "Why, I'd like to be able to pay $5 apiece for letters to the editor."

During the war Littleton became a haven for the Nisei. The Methodist minister gave the newcomers use of his church one night a week. At the first hint of a grumble the *Independent* backed him up plainly and forcefully and began publishing pictures of Nisei soldiers on page 1. Recently Waring "had to call down" the town's law-enforcement officers for the strong-arm way in which they arrested some Mexican American wrongdoers. Actual brutality was not charged, but Waring thought the methods used implied two sorts of justice in Littleton. So he said sharply, "Our Mexican Americans, unfortunately, quite often deserve to be arrested. But they must be arrested like anyone else."

The *Independent's* comments on the Hawkins case at the University of Colorado (reported in *The Nation* for March 10 and May 26) are a good illustration of how this uncatalogued liberal writes:

> Worse than the probe of Hawkins at Boulder was the employment of two former FBI agents to snoop on all the C. U. professors. How should we like it in Littleton if the patriotism of every business man were questioned and his private life investigated by two detectives? We should regard it as an affront to our honor as loyal Americans, and that is the reaction of the faculty at Boulder. Some not too bright student may have spread tales that Professor X or Y is a Communist, but when the student is pinned down he finally admits he cannot distinguish Communist dogma from the by-laws of the Royal Order of Flying Squirrels.
>
> No intelligent American feels that national security is involved in the classroom discussions at Boulder. The reason for these attacks on universities is hidden. The opponents of social reform have always kept things as they are by name-calling. They have been beating people with the Communist stick hard for many years, harder in recent months. They are pitting Americans against Americans, leaving the Russians to continue their evil aggression.

Waring went on to quote the Supreme Court in the Barnette flag-salute case: "Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard." A week later, after President Stearns of Colorado University had issued his statement on academic freedom, Waring wrote:

> In his remarks about communism in the universities, President Robert L. Stearns has said that "unfortunately, there are today political views which are not consonant with the freedom of inquiry." This sounds fine when the president is talking about communism, but the observation would be unpopular if someone suggested that "freedom of inquiry" were an ideal that many non-Communists oppose. Freedom of inquiry is the thing

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about liberal-arts colleges which most conservative political thinkers and the adherents of several major religions dislike.

This uncommon editor, who is also chairman of Rotary's program committee and member of the state board of Americans for Democratic Action, summed up his aspirations concisely in the sixtieth-anniversary edition of his paper:

> The Littleton *Independent* has carved out for itself two purposes beyond the reporting of and commenting on local events. It attempts to represent the unrepresented, and it seeks to reveal those facts which the giants of the communications industry prefer not to mention. Its voice is small, but it is unmuffled. In combination with hundreds of other similarly resolved small-town papers, we trust that it is performing a worthy function.

That was in 1948. Editor Waring of the *Independent* says today, "I'm very optimistic after the first twenty-five years."

Luxemburg: Steel and Socialism

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Luxemburg

ON THE face of it, Luxemburg—forty miles one way and twenty the other—is hard to take seriously. One is tempted to be either facetious about this blast-furnace Ruritania or rapturous about the lovely Moselle Valley, the haunted castles, and the reminders of Shakespeare's lovers in the Forest of Arden, part of which is spread across the northern half of the grand duchy.

Yet in reality Luxemburg is no dreamland. It is a small but active member of Western Europe with post-war problems much like those of its neighbors. It had 10,000 killed in the war, a high figure for a population of 300,000, and the Rundstedt offensive at the end of 1944 caused great destruction. But thanks to the sums put into the country's iron-and-steel industry, Luxemburg is today the fourth-largest producer of steel in Western Europe—after Britain, Germany, and France—with an annual output of more than three million tons of steel and three million tons of pig iron. In the early part of 1950 the Luxemburg steel industry was threatened with a slump, but the Korean war caused business to look up, and now there is a waiting list of orders. The number of unemployed in the whole country is thirty-eight! Esch and other steel towns in central and southern Luxemburg have a standard of living far above that of the industrial towns of French Lorraine and a little above those of Belgium.

But the Luxemburgers know that this temporary boom in the steel mills is no answer to long-term problems. Wedged between France, Belgium, and Germany, the grand duchy signed the Brussels treaty, the Atlantic Pact, and the Schuman Plan, is a member of the Council of Europe and a recipient of Marshall aid. Its Foreign Minister, Joseph Bech, has been called "the greatest Benelux statesman," but many of his countrymen would question this. Although in some ways Bech is very independent—he insists, for instance, on keeping in Moscow an extremely able but by no means orthodox minister who provides him with information that is often quite different from the routine facts supplied by other Moscow embassies—the Luxemburg Socialists think him much too conformist in dealing with the bigger Western allies, especially the United States, and are determined to "keep him in order."

During my stay in Luxemburg the Socialists, having won a notable election victory on June 3, consented for the first time in several years to enter the government. As a result of the elections in half the Luxemburg constituencies due for renewal, they now have 19 instead of 16 seats in the Chamber, the Social Christians 21 instead of 22, the Liberals 8 instead of 9, the Communists 4 instead of 5. With their position greatly strengthened by the three extra seats, the Socialists were able to lay down some stiff conditions for entering the Cabinet, the six posts of which are now equally divided between them and the Social Christians. This Socialist advance in Luxemburg is unique in the recent history of Western Europe.

On the day the new government was formed, I had a long talk with Michel Rasquin, the Socialist leader, who holds the important post of Minister of Economic Affairs. Very tall, with a bony, almost ascetic face, Rasquin struck me as being as hard as nails; he is clearly going to be the strong man of Luxemburg. Characteristically, he began with some uncomplimentary remarks on the French Socialists, who were ruining the very idea of democratic socialism in Western Europe by cooperating unconditionally in any government. Altogether he took a gloomy view of France, where nearly half the electorate had declared themselves "against the parliamentary republic." For the Belgian Socialists he showed rather more respect, and thought they had handled the Leopold crisis admirably. As for the British Labor government, its sur-

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vival was "a matter of life and death to European democracy."

On most questions M. Rasquin's view differed from those professed by the previous Catholic government of Luxemburg. He was opposed to "independent" German rearmament, which might well prove a double-edged weapon; he didn't see very clearly what the "European army" meant except, obviously, the surrender of national sovereignty. Indeed, he had grave doubts about all "supra-national authorities," not least about the board that would administer the Schuman Plan. On this subject he said:

> The steel industry is the lifeblood of Luxemburg, and I am very hesitant indeed about transferring to people of whom we know nothing the power to decide on the living standard of our people. I fear this all the more as our standard of living and our wages are high, our transport problems difficult, and our home market almost non-existent. For these reasons we are very vulnerable. We have no coal; our reserves of iron ore will barely last us another generation; in short, the risks are so great that distrust is justified. Although we produce ten times more steel per head of population than the United States, our production is still only a small fraction of the pool, which can, if it wishes, do without us. There is our tragedy.
>
> We must ask for a minimum of safeguards—for the very existence of our people, not just for the good of the steel companies. I am sure that we can get these safeguards if we fight hard enough. The present text of the Schuman Plan must undergo a lot of amending.
>
> We shall, in any case, probably be the very last to ratify it, and not without a big fight.

When I suggested that M. Bech had already obtained for Luxemburg a number of concessions under the Schuman Plan, M. Rasquin declared that these were paper concessions and quite inadequate.

HE HAD equally strong views on conscription. With present methods of warfare, he said, the Luxemburg army could be wiped out in a day. This might not be a serious blow to Allied man-power, but for Luxemburg it would mean the loss of a whole generation of young men. Britain was pressing for a uniform system of two-year conscription in all Western Europe, but the Luxemburg Socialists were dead against it. Under the agreement reached with the Catholics, in forming the new government, the present one-year service, plus two three-month training periods, was on no account to be exceeded; moreover, negotiations were to be started with the Allies for authorization to contribute to the general defense effort more than the country's share in terms of industrial output and less in terms of man-power. There is no doubt that the Socialists' anti-conscription and "anti-militarist" election slogans won them more votes than anything else.

Among other conditions they laid down when they consented to enter the government were the fixing of the minimum wage at 4,030 francs a month—about $80 as against the previous $65—the reduction or abolition of numerous taxes on lower-bracket incomes, and higher taxation of corporate profits, including an excess-profits tax on the "abnormal" earnings of the "Korean" period. These measures will bring a net increase in revenue which is to be used for food subsidies to keep the cost of living down. As practical socialism all this should make many a French and British Socialist envious.

Perle Mesta

The Luxemburg Socialists place great emphasis on sovereignty and have accepted comparatively little Marshall Plan aid; they are reluctant, as M. Rasquin put it, to see their little country "dissolved in the European purée." They are staunch supporters of the Grand Duchess Charlotte, whom they regard as a valuable bulwark against "the wrong kind of internationalism." The contrast between the dignified and reserved Grand Duchess and Mrs. Perle Mesta, the American ambassador, known as the Mistinguette of the diplomatic corps, causes a good deal of amusement here. Mrs. Mesta entertains on a grandiose scale; one day she invited to a reception every mayor of every community in the country, which is more than the Grand Duchess has ever done.

With the Socialist leaders "Madame" has had her tiffs. The most famous occasion was when the industrial city of Esch, which was just then running a *Luxembourg au Travail* exhibition, planned an "American Day." Mrs. Mesta insisted on having an American military parade. The war in Korea had just begun; people were jumpy and nervous; and M. Rasquin, as mayor of Esch, refused to allow the parade, which he said would only play into the hands of the Communists. "Madame" was furious, but in the end compromised on having an American military band play in front of the City Hall. The all-Negro band was a great success, and everybody was happy except the Coca-Cola Company, whose offer to mark the occasion by a mass sale of Coca-Cola and turn the proceeds over to the Luxemburg Red Cross was flatly turned down by the Mayor—out of regard perhaps for the local brewers and wine merchants.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Pattern of Hysteria

THE TENNEY COMMITTEE. Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in California. By Edwin L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell University Press. $5.

THE Tenney committee has now been investigating subversive activities in California for about ten years, almost as long as the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and generally with the same approach. Each committee has tacitly assumed that its function was that of a criminal trial, with the committee acting as prosecutor, jury, and court, but subject to no restraint or review. The assertion that "every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur, and espionage agent of Soviet Russia" soon took the form that "unfriendly witnesses" and critics of the committee were Communists, and should be treated as traitors. At a hearing in September, 1948, a lawyer for some of the persons who had been subpoenaed to testify asked for an opportunity to cross-examine. "We are familiar," said Senator Tenney, "with the technique of these Communist attorneys. I move the motion be denied." When Judge Yankwich testified before the committee that he would talk to any group, whether he agreed with its views or not, just as he was talking to Senator Tenney, although he didn't agree with him, the audience applauded. Senator Tenney directed that anybody who applauded should be ejected from the hearing. "We know that we have a large number of Communists here," he said. On another occasion when Dr. Clarence H. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, was testifying, the audience laughed and applauded. Tenney again flared back: "I admonish the audience that at another outbreak I will clear the room. . . . You are Communist sympathizers and you can't do this."

The Tenney committee might have performed a useful job if it had investigated the actual activities of some of the organizations alleged to be subversive. But it made almost no attempt to find out how they operated, and was content to publish the names of individuals whom it found guilty of being "Stalinist sympathizers," usually without giving them any opportunity to explain their association. When they did occasionally get a hearing, their testimony was disregarded, and only information gathered from the accumulating files of the national and state investigations was used. Membership in an organization is, as Professor Barrett points out, evidence of a belief in the purposes of the organization. But the purposes were invariably brushed aside by the committee as camouflage, and the association was used to show that the particular individual believed in the aims of other members. In this non-sequitur lies the chief vice of the whole guilt-by-association test.

Indeed, the theory of listing organizations to show the subversive quality of their members is highly questionable. The practice tends increasingly to fix and harden an equivocal standard. Membership in a doubtful organization in the federal program is but "one piece of evidence"; two years later it becomes *prima facie* cause for disqualification in New York; and finally, in the Ober law of Maryland, membership is a crime. The United States Supreme Court in the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case held that the designation of the organizations by the Attorney General without a hearing had been "patently arbitrary"; and Justice Black spoke of these listings as "officially prepared and proclaimed governmental blacklists [which] possess almost every quality of bills of attainder." It is to be hoped that since this decision the President will reconsider the use of this kind of evidence before the loyalty boards; it is frankly based on the theory of guilt by association, which was once thought to have no place in American justice.

Professor Barrett gives an instance of the effect of the committee's listings. In 1947 Bartley Crum, a distinguished San Francisco lawyer, who had never appeared before the committee but had been named by the committee as affiliated with two organizations considered subversive, was dropped as a Chico Community Forum speaker on a protest by a chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars based on the committee listing. Similarly, in 1951 Marquis Childs's engagement to speak at the centennial celebration of Miner Teachers College in the District of Columbia was canceled by Hobart M. Corning, the superintendent of Washington schools, on receiving a report from the House Un-American Activities Committee that Childs's name was "listed" in the committee's files, although he had never been charged with anything by the committee and had never appeared before it. It would be safer, as Martin Dies stated in clearing Fredric March and his wife, Florence Eldridge, "never to participate in anything in the future without consulting the American Legion or our local Chamber of Commerce."

"The Tenney Committee" is the second volume of a series of studies—made possible by a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation to Cornell University—of the impact on civil liberties of governmental programs to insure internal security and expose subversive conduct. Professor Robert E. Cushman is director of the whole undertaking. Professor Walter Gellhorn's admirable "Security, Loyalty, and Science" was published last year. Professor Robert K. Carr is making a study of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Miss Eleanor Bontecue is examining the federal loyalty program. Several scholars are doing a survey of state programs. A final report will summarize all the findings.

Mr. Barrett's book suffers from diffusiveness; the author has lacked discrimination in selecting his material so as to illustrate and sharpen the issues. In his eagerness to be objective he lays a mass of detailed evidence before the reader with little illuminating comment

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except for the final Appraisal, an admirable summary of the assumptions, objectives, and standards of evidence of the committee. But even in this conclusion he suggests that "there are no scales that can tell us accurately whether in the balance the activities of the Tenney committee were of service or disservice to the state." Yet the conclusions that follow leave little doubt where he thinks the balance lies.

Not content with mere exposure [he writes], the committee sought to punish alleged subversives and their sympathizers. . . . Once it had established to its satisfaction that a particular individual was a Communist or fellow-traveler . . . it sought literally to banish him from all normal community life . . . to prevent association with him, to forbid lawyers to defend him . . . and to cause his employer to discharge him and his union to expel him. People were warned that they should not rent him a hall for a meeting, or join any organization of which he was a member, or read any book or attend any play or motion picture written by him, or even espouse any cause espoused by him. . . . The threat of investigation and exposure was used much like the threat of criminal prosecution in attempts to compel adherence to committee standards. . . . A county assessor was officially requested to remove the tax exemption of a church that continued to permit meetings by allegedly subversive groups on its premises after committee protests. . . . The state bar association was called upon to investigate "conduct of those attorneys who consistently represent persons and organizations *suspected* of un-American activity." . . . The proof rested almost wholly upon the associations of the individual. . . . Most of the people listed by the committee . . . were never given an opportunity to explain their associations. . . . In the few instances where the committee did permit a witness to testify . . . this testimony was disregarded.

This is a sad and tragic picture. I suspect that it is not untypical of the country at large—the creeping fear, the obsession with Russia distorting and confusing our purpose and our direction, the resort to methods usually identified with Star Chamber and the Inquisition. All these things mark an immature mind that lives in a world of terrifying phantoms. The problems of the real world are too actual to permit us to resort to the false luxury of adolescence. One of these problems is the discovery and punishment of spies and saboteurs. But this is not accomplished by hunting down and "exposing" those who happen to disagree with some obscure and chauvinistic brand of "Americanism."

FRANCIS BIDDLE

Basic German Issues

GERMANY AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. Edited by Hans J. Morgenthau. The University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

CAN Western Germany be reintegrated with the Western world on mutually livable terms? This is the basic question which has been asked, and answered diversely and thoughtfully, by fourteen students of German problems represented in the volume of Harris Foundation lectures for 1950. All the participants, it should be mentioned at the start, assume an indefinite continuance of armed truce between East and West and hence a prolonged division of Germany into two increasingly divergent parts. The underlying impressions which emerge are a qualified optimism concerning the political and intellectual reorientation of Western Germany and a qualified pessimism over its ability to cope with the problems of economic and social reconstruction. Although a year has elapsed since the discussions held at the Harris Foundation, the statement of basic issues is fully valid today, for it draws upon an unusual range of expertness and of first-hand concern with post-war German developments.

Reinhold Niebuhr has given in a few words an excellent statement of the moral and intellectual difficulties Americans face in seeking Germany's partnership against Soviet totalitarianism. It would be very helpful if his sensitive analysis, which is also a call for action, could be widely known and appreciated by Germans. Niebuhr concludes that full American participation in defending Europe is the only safeguard for sincere cooperation between Germany and its recent victims. With Calvin B. Hoover he points to the contradiction which has arisen from our pressing upon Germany a laissez faire policy which goes beyond what we are prepared to practice at home, under far more auspicious conditions.

No one can quarrel with Sigmund Neumann's description of the social and political impact of nine million dispossessed and uprooted Germans, but he should have said something about the Germans' own attempts to do something about this vast problem. Neumann correctly points out the absurdity of trying to absorb these displaced masses in the regions where they were dumped by the hazards of military events, but mere redistribution is not a remedy. Under the "Schlüchtern plan," which is spreading in Western Germany, the problem of bringing together housing and opportunities for work, and thus absorbing the refugees, has been tackled by county boards, representing local government and administration, industry, banking, agriculture, labor, and the refugees, and assisted by social analysts; direct achievements, as reported in a recent publication of the National Planning Association, are impressive. The development of social responsiblity and local initiative is no less important.

Unlike many observers Morgenthau, Almond, and Marcuse feel that the anti-democratic movements are not a serious menace at present. Their arguments are thoughtful. As long as Germany's security and economic revival depend on the West there is not likely to be a direct threat to democratic procedures. But if Germany becomes the front-line defender of the West, it will naturally seek to rewrite the terms of cooperation in its favor, and at this stage the parties now governing may lose the loyalty of the majority of the electorate. The suicidal blackmail of the right-totalitarians, some of whom advocate joining forces with Soviet imperialism, may not gain them power through the ballot but may be strong enough to destroy confidence between Germany and the West. None of the contributors makes more than a passing reference to the risk that a rearmed Germany may

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attempt to use the power of the Western alliance to recover the Soviet zone and perhaps the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse. Fear of irredentism even more than the risk of revived militarism worries French and other West European leaders and stimulates the search for a formula which will harness the use of German armed strength to European purposes.

Hans Simons, who was actively concerned in the elaboration of the Bonn constitution, gives a brilliant insight into the complex nature of the new political instrument and shows how its provisions emerged from the interplay of pressures among German parties, among the occupation powers, and between the Germans and the victors. His conclusion is that the new instrument, while basically centralistic, is weaker than the Weimar constitution, but that it may survive more successfully.

In a brief review of labor developments Franz Neumann emphasizes the successful post-war reconstruction of a unified trade-union structure, its striving for "co-determination" as a means of influencing industrial policies from within, and its non-revolutionary spirit, which is equally hostile to neo-Nazi and Communist forces. Perhaps Neumann is too bleakly critical of the "status quo" attitude of German labor. The absence of drastic demands and of dramatic methods may be due to a desire to strengthen the shaky structure of emergent democracy and to the need for a period of convalescent quiescence. In any case, if German labor is non-revolutionary, how can the Social Democratic Party, which represents the workers more completely than at any time since 1919, be a revolutionary force?

PHILIP E. MOSELY

The Sea Evoked

THE SEA AROUND US. By Rachel L. Carson. Oxford University Press. $3.50.

AS SOON as we pick up Miss Carson's book, we find ourselves entering a familiar world. It is astonishing how much the sea resembles our own element.

It possesses the very same geography of mountains and valleys, and it is capable of the same violent eruptions—which later cause seismic waves. Like the terrestrial world, the sea has its climates—sharply defined areas of cold and warm—and its own atmosphere: a "steady, unremitting, downward drift of materials from above, flake upon flake, layer upon layer," forming in certain places a carpeting of sediment—consisting of erosion from the continental masses, decay, sands from the coastal deserts, and so on—that is 12,000 feet thick. It even resembles the earth in its circulation of currents: just as, on land, the winds that pass are feeble miniatures of the air rushes carried in the rotation of the atmosphere far overhead, so the waves on the sea's surface are the merest ripples compared to the submarine blasts, known only to the monsters of the deep.

The sea matches the earth in its mineral wealth. The amount of gold it contains, for instance, would be more than sufficient to make every living human being a millionaire—an interesting commentary on the degree to which man's society is an outgrowth of convention. Though it lacks trees and shrubbery, the sea is crammed with other types of vegetation; and its quantity of sub-life, perhaps comparable to our insect colonies, is such that all day the ship's passenger may find nothing around him but a sea of intense red animalcules, "and when darkness falls the waters [still] shine with an eerie glow from the phosphorescent fires of yet more billions and trillions of these same creatures." Life, both microscopic and super-elephantine, swarms throughout the sea, and over it prevails the same kind of rigid economy Darwin discovered on earth:

> What happens to a diatom in the upper, sunlit strata of the sea may well determine what happens to a cod lying on a ledge of some rocky canyon a hundred fathoms below . . . or to a prawn creeping over the soft oozes of the sea floor in the blackness of mile-deep water. . . . From the plankton [the almost infinite mass of sub-life, including "fierce little dragons half an inch long, the sharp-jawed arrowworms," and "gooseberry-like comb jellies, armed with paralyzing tentacles"] the food chains lead on, to the school of plankton-feeding fishes like the herring, menhaden, and mackerel; to the fish-eating fishes like the bluefish and tuna and sharks; to the pelagic squids that prey on fishes; to the great whales who . . . may live on fishes, on shrimps, or on some of the smallest of the plankton creatures.

The origins of the sea, the forces determining its tides, its ceaseless din detectable only to the seismograph and sound machines, the periodic migrations among its fish population—there are several things no reader unfamiliar with oceanography could anticipate. But even these things somehow fall into place with a gratifying sensation of faith that they must be so, and not otherwise. Scientifically, "The Sea Around Us" has its shortcomings, but it would be hard to find a style, a sensitivity, a balancing of detail more perfectly suited for the evoking of the sea.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

"As France Goes . . ."

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. By Donald C. McKay. Harvard University Press. $4.

THIS book gives more than the title promises. In addition to chapters dealing with Franco-American relations it contains a survey of political and economic conditions in present-day France. Though brief, it is a model compendium of important facts which do not stare blankly at the reader as out of the void but are analyzed, evaluated, and related to the historical background.

Relations between France and America have been long and intimate. A historical fact worth noting is that in the wars in which both nations participated they were always on the same side. However, their relations have vacillated between sentimental friendship and grieved disillusionment. When, after the First World War, France refused to pay its war debt, America felt, as McKay says, like an "unrequited lover." After the Second World War there began a revival of the historical friendship between the two nations, based less on sentiment than on mutual interest. France has still an important role to play in the world of which America is the leading power. And it may be said that as France goes, so goes Western Europe. McKay is at his best when stressing the free world's need of France in the coming struggle for power between Western democracy and eastern totalitarianism. Slowly and reluctantly France has come to the conclusion that Russia is now a greater threat to its security than is Germany. To Frenchmen life is, in the author's phrase, "an

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eternal quest for security." Because of the fearful losses suffered by France during the two world wars many Frenchmen became convinced that security could be found in "neutralism." So widespread was this sentiment that McKay frankly admits that France became a "beachhead of weakness," exhibiting a "profound sense of apathy, futility, and even resignation" in facing the threat of Communist domination.

But the mood is changing. McKay is convinced that America's decisive intervention in Korea and the dispatch of additional American troops to Germany have instilled in the French a feeling of confidence and roused in them a spirit of resistance. His view is borne out by the results of the recent elections, which decisively repudiated neutralism.

McKay's deep knowledge and fine understanding of France, past and present, will be appreciated by his readers. As Sumner Welles states in his Introduction, this book "will do much to help the American people better to understand France's problems realistically."

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

New Deal Financier

BECKONING FRONTIERS. By Marriner S. Eccles. Edited by Sidney Hyman. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

IN HIS long and useful career as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Marriner Eccles learned to like and even to admire a number of political leaders, but he could never quite accept the idea that a statesman must be responsive to public opinion, as well as responsible for the public welfare. He had and has strong convictions about economic policy, and much more often than not he has been right. This did not necessarily make him easy to get along with.

Still, for a man who has good reason to consider himself ill used, he writes with admirable restraint and lack of bitterness. This is particularly remarkable because he was himself subjected to continuous bitter attack as a traitor to his class of Republican bankers, and then finally opposed by many of the New Dealers who had once cheered him as a leader. He had supported most of the New Deal out of pure conviction, and himself contributed a large part of the theory of compensatory government spending and deficit financing which finally became the cornerstone of New Deal economic policy. As early as June, 1932, when Franklin Roosevelt was still preaching drastic government economy, Eccles told the Utah State Bankers Convention:

> There is only one agency in my opinion that can turn the cycle upward and that is the government. The government, if it is worthy of the support, the loyalty, and the patriotism of its citizens, must so regulate, through its power of taxation, through its power over the control of money and credit, and hence its volume and use, the economic structure as to give men who are able, worthy, and willing to work the opportunity to work, and to guarantee to them sustenance for their families and protection against want and destitution.

Without rancor he cites the record to show that the policy of deficit financing was never carried by the New Dealers to a point which could have turned the depression into real prosperity, and that the Fair Dealers have failed to press for a corresponding fiscal policy to check inflation. Of course he is perfectly correct in pointing out that if deficit spending is right in a depression, an excess of government revenue over expenditures is equally right when prices are rising in a period of full employment. But while he recognizes the importance of political pressures, he still seems to have a somewhat unrealistic feeling that President Roosevelt and President Truman could have forced these policies on Congress if they had really wanted to.

In his capacity as head of an independent agency dealing with highly technical problems of money and credit, he was naturally impatient of uninformed opinion—and he was particularly impatient of fellow-bankers who should have been better informed. He did what he could to educate public opinion. But the very honesty and clarity of his own thinking frequently made it difficult for him to understand the problem of dealing with a Congress and a public whose ideas about government financial policy are still at least fifty years out of date.

In addition to providing the best economic history of the New Deal so far available, the book is a fascinating and eminently readable personal story. The account of his remarkable father, who left abject poverty in Scotland to become a Mormon and a millionaire, is just as interesting as the many significant anecdotes about the great names of the last twenty years.

CHARLES E. NOYES

English Novel of Italy

THE DIVIDING STREAM. By Francis King. William Morrow and Company. $3.

THE DIVIDING STREAM" is the first of Francis King's novels to be published in this country. Mr. King is a young English writer with a modest and unpretentious style who has become deeply enamored of Italy, like so many Englishmen through the ages, and who has been profoundly influenced by E. M. Forster, to judge from this book. Certainly one could hardly choose a better model.

We are presented with the same kind of ironic juxtaposition of Northern and Southern cultures that Forster brought off so admirably in his novels and stories with an Italian locale. A wealthy English family in Florence—the head of the family is nominally American, apparently only because it is difficult nowadays to write of wealthy Englishmen

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traveling abroad—is played off against two desperately poor Italian youngsters and a group of expatriates and tourists.

Just as the rich American's English wife falls in love with a surly and mysterious British army officer, their children become involved with the Florentine boys; and just as the silly vulgar wife of an English physician-tourist is betrayed by her love for a phony count, so the American's wife is doomed by her infatuation for the unloving army wanderer. The only ones who gain from their exposure to the Italian climate are the children, who are still capable of being genuinely altered by their intercourse with the charming and unembittered pagan boys of Florence.

Mr. King's unobtrusive prose does not pall, and his narrative seldom flags. But it is a pity that one feels ever more strongly, from chapter to chapter, that he has read this before, that the author's attitude, while civilized and strongly defensible, is neither original nor uniquely presented, and that his people, although they are neither dull nor contrived, are but the replicas of figures in earlier novels which have traversed much the same ground.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE first new work presented by the New York City Ballet Company in its June season was Balanchine's "Capriccio Brillant," a display piece for Tallchief and Eglevsky. The trivial Mendelssohn music evoked from Balanchine no more than a routine use of his vocabulary in the filling out of space in time, aided by the resourcefulness which presented the two soloists in the enriching context of the movements of four girls, which had the work begin charmingly with the dancers gathering around the piano and then beginning to dance, and which costumed the dancers in handsome black and white on an effectively lighted stage.

The second, Ruthanna Boris's "Cakewalk," to music by Gottschalk with scenery and superb costumes by Robert Drew, was an ingenious, amusing, and charming dance paraphrase of its subject. Janet Reed again (I say "again" recalling her Queen of Hearts in "Card Game") demonstrated her powers in comedy, and there were fine performances by the other soloists.

The third was Jerome Robbins's "The Cage," to Stravinsky's Concerto in D. Suggested by the practices of certain insects whose females devour the males, it presented, in something like a hive, a group of females whose costumes (by Ruth Sobotka of the company) and movements (the rubbing of hands like feelers) suggested insects, and one of whom (Nora Kaye) killed two male intruders—the first (Michael Maule) at once, the second (Nicholas Magallanes) after courtship (pas de deux) and copulation. A progression from the unpleasant to the shocking and horrible; but my objection was not to that; it was to the fact that the piece was nothing more than that: the movements achieved nothing beyond their unpleasant or shocking explicit meaning. This in contrast to, say, the fairy's taking possession of the boy in "Le Baiser de la fée," or the seduction in "The Prodigal Son," in which the movements are not literally meaningful but a transmutation of the literal meaning into powerfully and excitingly imaginative symbols.

For the rest, with a half-dozen replacements in the corps and not enough rehearsal, gone was the assured precision and ease of last March's performances of the great Balanchine works (gone altogether was one of the greatest of those works, "Le Baiser de la fée"). "Bourrée Fantasque," in addition, suffered from the hamming by Tanaquil LeClercq which increased at each successive performance. LeClercq must have seen Danilova in "Le Beau Danube" and "Gaîté Parisienne"; let her think back and recall the fact that after the hundreds of performances in those ballets Danilova did not make one movement that was excessive. Such self-discipline is part of the equipment of a great artist; and LeClercq owes it to herself to acquire it; but if she doesn't exercise self-discipline Balanchine, it seems to me, should exercise his authority as artistic director. He should also correct the glaring defects in the work of the corps in "The Prodigal Son"—the inaccuracy and therefore the ineffectiveness of the boys' deceptive thrusting out of their hands at their first encounter with the son; their complete lack of interest and involvement during the siren's solo dance and her pas de deux with the son; and their failure to squat low enough in their back-to-back scurrying about after the despoiling. And would expect Balanchine to be concerned over the damage to the early scenes of the piece when Hugh Laing dances in it.

Webster Aitken's recorded performance of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in A—which E. M. S. has added to the ones of the posthumous Sonatas in C minor and B flat—could be accounted for not only by his personal musical feeling but by a determination to produce a performance as different from Schnabel's as possible. If so, it is successful: it is at the opposite pole from Schnabel's relaxed, spacious performance, and in its own way it comes off, and is acceptable as a performance of the work—which the performance of the B flat was not (just as Stokowski's "conceptions" of Bach and Mussorgsky are not). But though it is acceptable it inflicts a loss on the work. To play the coda of the first movement, for example, as strictly and relentlessly in the driving tempo of the entire movement—albeit

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with admirable rhythmic continuity—is to rob it of the wonderful meaning Schnabel gives it with his slowed-down, meditative playing; in the scherzo too Aitken's strict beat robs the music of the charm that Schnabel's elasticity and grace give it; and there is a similar loss in the finale. But Aitken's performance of the slow movement—and especially of the remarkable middle section—is a completely effective statement of it, and a demonstration of his powers as musician and pianist. Unfortunately its effectiveness is reduced, as it comes off the record, by lack of depth, solidity, and power in the reproduced piano sound (to say nothing of other faults of sound and surface).

The Haydn Society has issued Haydn's Piano Sonatas Nos. 48 and 51—the second a more impressive example of the genre than the first—played by Virginia Pleasants intelligently and soberly, when the music calls for the vitality, sharpness, and brilliance that Charles Rosen's performance of No. 51 on the E. M. S. record has. In No. 48 one keeps hearing sounds from the groove ahead.

Of the piano pieces of Satie played by Poulenc (Columbia) the Tyrolienne Turque is very amusing, but the rest aren't up to their funny titles. Poulenc's music, on the same record, I don't care for.

Couperin's harpsichord music I continue to find mostly uninteresting and at best, occasionally, pleasant. Uninteresting is the Suite No. 24 played with unclear rhythm and phrase-outline by Eta Harich Schneider (Urania); pleasant are "Les Fastes de la grande et ancienne ménestrandise" and some of the other music played by Claude Jean Chiasson (Lyrichord).

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCIS BIDDLE, former Attorney General, is the author of "The Fear of Freedom," to be published in the fall.

PHILIP E. MOSELY, professor of international relations at the Russian Institute of Columbia University, was a member of the United States delegation to the Potsdam conference. He visited Western Germany and Berlin in 1950.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO is the author of "The World in Crisis."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Supreme Court Sidestep

Dear Sirs: The Garner case involved the constitutionality of an amendment to the Charter of the City of Los Angeles which authorized an inquiry into the political activities of city employees. Under the amendment every city employee would be required to sign an affidavit which would state that he was not a member of any organization which advocated the forcible overthrow of the government. Justice Clark, who while serving as Attorney General had compiled the list of organizations which supposedly advocated the forcible overthrow of the government, wrote the Supreme Court majority opinion, which upheld an earlier decision handed down by the District Court of Appeals of California. According to this opinion the issue at stake was whether a city employee could be compelled to disclose his political affiliations. The question of whether he could be discharged because he held political beliefs which were in conflict with the amendment was not argued. But the appellants charged that they were fired because they refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit. The Supreme Court's decision barely touched the issue involved in the suit brought before it.

CHARLES B. COLLINS

Berkeley, Cal.

Civilization's Cross

Dear Sirs: The following are extracts from a speech by Saul Alinsky delivered last month in Chicago at a testimonial dinner held for Dean John B. Thompson. I heard the speech and was so struck by it I thought it should have a wider hearing. Not only is it a tribute to the courage and integrity of one of America's outstanding liberals, but it also points out that the danger of the American heritage comes from those who will not stand by their convictions and defend them in public.

Time is running out for all of us, but much faster for you, Dean Thompson. While all of us here tonight honor you, I'm afraid that when the Supreme Court crows thrice most of us will fail to recognize you when you walk by, and deny ever having known you.

You are for complete and equal freedom of all people—not just the ones you agree with. You know that you cannot discriminate when it comes to freedom, that certain people cannot have freedom and that others can, that there is no clear-cut distinction between free speech and advocacy. You know that once such a line is drawn people will become afraid to speak, that silence will become safety, and speech suicide.

To you the important issue in any fight is not whether you can win immediately, but whether the fight is just. You know that because a fight may be a losing fight is no reason not to stake everything on it if it is just.

You have never begun that long toboggan ride down the slide of rationalization. You have never leaned on the crutches of cowardice. You have never listened to people who say, "If you get involved in too many things you will lessen your usefulness," or, "This isn't the time to take such a position; you can make a much better contribution in the long run if you keep out of things for the moment," or, "Of course you're not a Communist, but if you really want to make your weight felt you ought to be more careful."

Our only hope is with those who, like you, are willing to stand up and speak out, who publicly profess their faith, who aren't content to whisper behind closed doors that things are going to hell. There are few like you who have the courage to defend freedom knowing that every time you get to your feet you are being measured for a cross. But you know that if you, and others like you, don't take that chance, then civilization will have to carry the cross. Without you, and others like you, there is no future. Without you and others like you a day would arrive when the Lord's Prayer will begin, "I am not and never have been."

Chicago PAUL V. RICHARDS

Reichenbach Rebuked

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that Professor Reichenbach's protest in *The Nation* of July 14 against Professor Buchler's review of his book, "The Rise of Scientific Philosophy," should have been given the title A Relativist Rebuked. It made it seem that the editor was accepting as valid one of Professor Reichenbach's more misleading expostulations.

Reichenbach's charge that Buchler was a "relativist" was his reply to Buchler's point that anyone as much concerned as Reichenbach with the relativity of *language* in scientific descriptions should not have overlooked

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the more general and quite incontrovertible fact that a large part of the seeming disagreement between different philosophers arises from their different ways of using language.

In the much more disparaging sense of the word to which Reichenbach seemed to be appealing, the "relativist" is one who denies that there is any such thing as good or evil apart from the conditioning of particular "cultures" or the "poetic" fancy of particular individuals. In this sense it is he and not Buchler who is the relativist. This is one of the things his book succeeds in making quite clear.

Buchler was much more open to criticism for having suggested that Reichenbach's philosophy has more in common with the philosophies he condemns than his devotion to his own form of idiom allowed him to recognize. This paid him a compliment he only doubtfully deserved. It included him in the company of men who are philosophers in the sense of being lovers of wisdom and not just among those who assert that only the very limited part of human understanding that can be reduced to scientific statement escapes being illusory, and that, as a consequence, the analysis of scientific method is the whole of wisdom.

According to the premise on which Professor Reichenbach bases his thinking, any philosophical view derived from presuppositions different from his own can be dismissed without examination as not merely false but meaningless. This raises the question whether it was not perhaps some doubt as to the rightness of his presuppositions that made him try the almost impossible task of examining a succession of such views in his book.

JOHN FILLEY

Meredith, N. H.

Why Less Corruption Abroad?

Dear Sirs: H. H. Wilson, in his able article on the Kefauver report which appeared in the July 21 number of *The Nation,* made the suggestion that additional light could be thrown on the causes of crime in the United States and on methods of dealing with it by a comparative study of conditions in Great Britain.

But England and other European countries are not so different from America in their economic or social organization or moral point of view as to explain why betting, gambling, bribery, and official corruption seems to be so much less pronounced on the other side of the Atlantic. I believe that the determining cause is that with few exceptions our judges, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, and police chiefs are elected, while in England they are appointed. This means that our officials are much more dependent upon the whim of public opinion, on the voter, and on the parties and bosses who control the voter by controlling the candidate.

WILHELM LEVINGER

New York

Recommended Reading

Dear Sirs: To those of your readers interested in contemporary British politics, I recommend a monthly magazine, *Twentieth Century,* successor to *Nineteenth Century and After.* Under Michael Goodwin's editorship, it is somewhat left of center, with an emphasis on the work of lively young writers. Those interested may address their inquiries to 51A Rathbone Place, London W.1, England.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS

Washington

A. S. P.'s Peace Petition

Dear Sirs: It may interest your readers to know that a statement appearing in the May 26 issue of *The Nation* to the effect that some leading British writers, including Sean O'Casey and Christopher Fry, had formed a Committee for Peace has spurred a group of American writers to do likewise.

Writers in the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions have formed a Committee of Writers for Peace whose sole aim, like that of their British colleagues, is to work toward the prevention of the disaster of a third world war. Our key principle is peaceful negotiation of disputes among nations.

All writers, known or unknown, published or unpublished, no matter what their political beliefs, race, or religion, are welcome to join us. No commitments of any kind are involved. There are no dues, and the only membership requirement is the desire to promote the cause of peace.

Those interested may communicate with our committee at the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 47 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.

WILLIAM KRAFT,
IRVIN BLOCK,
For the Committee

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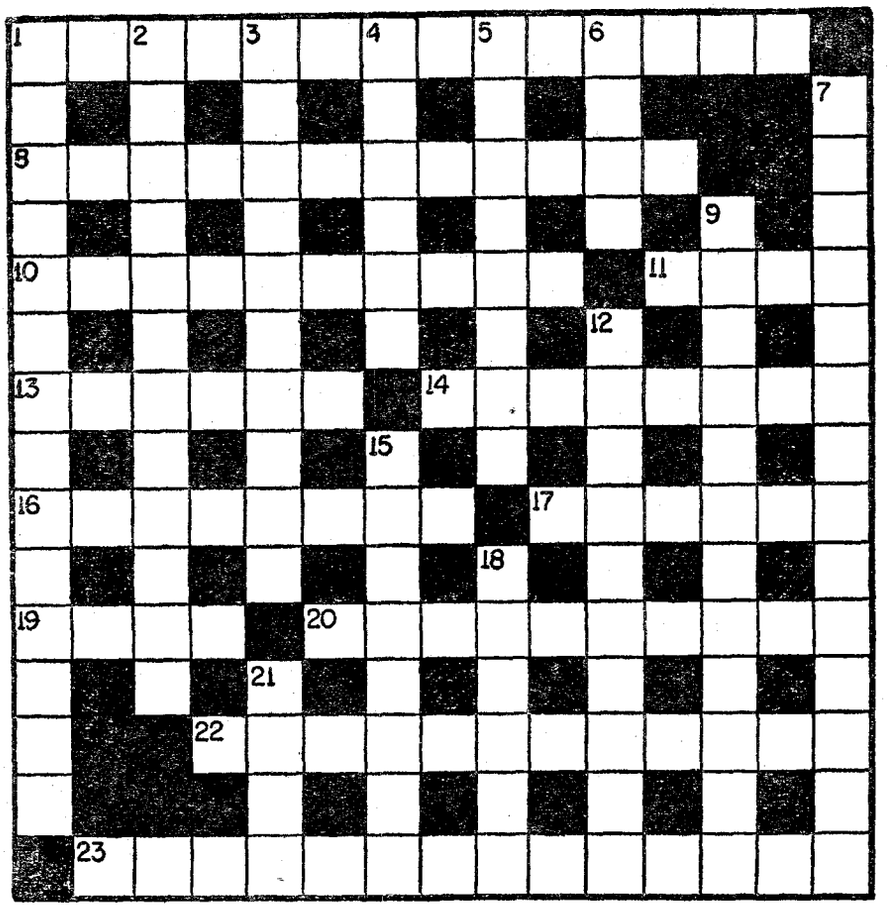
Crossword Puzzle No. 424

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Pretty magnetic? Such quality in either case! (14)
8 Professional grafters, perhaps. (4, 8)
10 Charley's aunt (not really!) and Gen. Dutra. (10)
11 Like the carpet moth? (With its arms backward?) (4)
13 Pinned down like Daniel. (6)
14 Do they only attempt to analyze? (8)
16 Spiral. (8)
17 Ivory does, reputedly. (6)
19 Not quite broken --- just leaning. (4)
20 and 2 down. 24 hours, for good measure! (2, 6, 2, 3, 3, 2, 4)
22 Superior to a mean streak. (5, 7)
23 Their diamonds rate them as being worth more than a buck. (5, 9)

DOWN

1 Caesar couldn't attribute this to lumbago. (1, 4, 2, 3, 4)
2 See 20 across.
3 What wagon riders profess. (10)
4 Swollen. (6)
5 Vine seen in central Europe. (8)
6 Creatures of habit. (4)
7 They were orphaned in a storm. (3, 4, 7)
9 Where to find words to a song? (5, 1, 6)
12 Saint to worship, or just a British predecessor. (4, 6)
15 Did Currier, when his partner left? (8)
18 Jazz tune (3, 3)
21 I repeat, it's a bird! (4)

• • ● • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 423

ACROSS:—1, 24 and 5 SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN; 9 REBATES; 10 UPSTART; 11 UTICA; 12, 26, 17, 15, 17, 26, 12 ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE; 13 NASAL; 14 SEEPAGE; 16 STAINED; 18 ASUNDER; 21 SPLICER; 23 TREADLE; 30 CUSTOMS; 31 SETTLES.

DOWN:—1 STRAUSS; 2 SUBSIDE; 3 and 29 EXTRA INNINGS; 4 SYSTOLE; 5 TOUPEES; 6 ESSEN; 7 KHAMSIN; 8 NETTLED; 18 AQUATIC; 19 UNDRESS; 20 RAFTERS; 21 STRAINS; 22 CHANNEL; 23 RESISTS; 25 and 27 across RADIOGRAMS; 27 GENET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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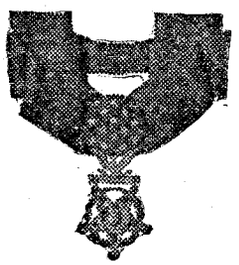
Medal of Honor



Private First Class Melvin Brown, of Mahaffey, Pennsylvania—Medal of Honor for valor in action near Kasan, Korea, September 4, 1950. Stubbornly holding an advanced position atop a wall, Pfc. Brown stood off attacking North Koreans until all his rifle ammunition and grenades were gone. When last seen he was still fighting—with only an entrenching shovel for a weapon—rather than give up an inch of ground.

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